

Message Text

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ACTION EA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02

INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 SR-02 ORM-01 IO-10 AID-05 FDRE-00 ACDA-05

NIC-01 SSO-00 /091 W

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P R 071730Z APR 75

FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0000

INFO AMEMBASSY SAIGON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION USUN

USDEL JEC PARIS

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 STOCKHOLM 1627

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, VS, VN, SW

SUBJECT: MEETING WITH SWEDISH FOREIGN MINISTER ON VIETNAM

1. SUMMARY. I CALLED ON FOREIGN MINISTER ANDERSSON
APRIL 7 TO DISCUSS REFUGEE AND MILITARY SITUATIONS IN
VIETNAM. I SAID NORTH VIETNAMESE INVASION IS CLEAR
VIOLATION OF PARIS ACCORDS, AND EXPRESSED HOPE OF USG
THAT GOS WOULD INCREASE ITS AID FOR REFUGEES THROUGH
MULTILATERAL AGENCIES. ANDERSSON SAID GOS HOPES FOR
POLITICAL SOLUTION IN SOUTH VIETNAM AND EXPRESSED
PERSONAL VIEW THAT PRG -- IN CONTRAST TO HANOI -- WOULD
BE RECEPTIVE TO DEALING WITH A SAIGON GOVERNMENT (WITH-
OUT PRESIDENT THIEU) TO ESTABLISH NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR
RECONCILIATION IN EFFORT TO ACHIEVE POLITICAL SOLUTION.
IN VIEW OF ANDERSSON'S PROVEN RELIABILITY AS INDICATED

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IN HIS WARNING TO US LAST

NOVEMBER ABOUT IMPENDING MASSIVE NORTH
VIETNAMESE OFFENSIVE, I BELIEVE HIS VIEWS ACCURATELY
REFLECT PRG POSITION AS COMMUNICATED TO GOS. END OF SUMMARY.

2. I CALLED ON SWEDISH FOREIGN MINISTER SVEN ANDERSSON
AT THE MFA APRIL 7 TO DISCUSS CURRENT SITUATION IN
VIETNAM AND PORTUGAL (SEPTEL).

3. I BEGAN MY PRESENTATION BY SAYING I WANTED TO
CITE SOME FIGURES TO THE FOREIGN MINISTER. THE FIRST
FIGURES RELATED TO THE REFUGEES IN SOUTH VIETNAM GEN-
ERATED BY THE NORTH VIETNAMESE INVASION. DRAWING ON
SAIGON 4159, I POINTED OUT THAT IN RVN MILITARY REGIONS
1 AND 2, THE NVA OFFENSIVE HAD CREATED CLOSE TO 2
MILLION REFUGEES, OF WHOM ONLY A SMALL NUMBER HAD BEEN
SUCCESSFULLY EVACUATED TO SOUTHERN AREAS. THE REMAINDER,
I CONTINUED, WERE BEING FORCIBLY PREVENTED FROM LEAVING
BY THE NVA. THE SECOND SET OF FIGURES I CITED WERE THOSE
RELATING TO THE PRESENCE OF NORTH VIETNAMESE MILITARY
FORCES IN THE SOUTH. AT THE TIME OF THE PARIS AGREEMENTS,
NORTH VIETNAM HAD APPROXIMATELY 80,000 TO 100,000 TROOPS
IN THE SOUTH, WHEREAS TODAY THE NUMBER IS CLOSER TO
400,000. AT THE PRESENT TIME THERE ARE 18 NVA DIVISIONS
IN THE SOUTH, LEAVING ONLY 2 OR 3 DIVISIONS IN THE NORTH.
THUS, ALMOST THE ENTIRE NORTH VIETNAMESE ARMY IS DEPLOYED
THE SOUTH.

4. THESE FIGURES, I CONTINUED, SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES. NO
MATTER HOW ONE TRIES TO INTERPRET THEM, THEY CLEARLY
CONSTITUTE A UNILATERAL INVASION BY NORTH VIETNAM OF SOUTH
VIETNAM IN FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF PARIS AGREEMENTS. I
POINTED OUT THAT FROM THE VERY BEGINNING NORTH VIETNAM
NEVER PERMITTED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ICC CHECKPOINTS
TO CONTROL THE INTRODUCTION OF NEW EQUIPMENT. THUS,
WHILE THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE EQUIPMENT WAS NOT BEING
REPLACED ON A ONE-FOR-ONE BASIS, THE NORTH VIETNAMESE
INVENTORIES WERE INCREASING, GIVING A TREMENDOUS MILITARY
ADVANTAGE TO HANOI.

5. I TOLD THE FOREIGN MINISTER THAT ALL OF THIS INFOR-
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MATION IS KNOWN TO THE GOS BUT I WANTED TO REPEAT AGAIN
WITH ALL THE CONVICTION OF WHICH I WAS CAPABLE THAT THE
PRESENT SITUATION IN SOUTH VIETNAM IS DUE TO THE IN-
VASION OF THE SOUTH BY NORTH VIETNAMESE REGULAR IN CLEAR
VIOLATION OF THE PARIS AGREEMENTS. I SAID IT IS UN-
FORTUNATE THAT THE PRESS HAS IGNORED THE FACTS AND HAS
DISTORTED THE TRUE SITUATION. I SAID I WAS
PARTICULARLY APPALLED BY THE STORY APPEARING IN THE

STOCKHOLM PRESS THIS MORNING THAT THE AIRLIFT OF VIETNAMESE ORPHANS IS A U.S. PUBLIC RELATIONS STUNT. IN VIEW OF THE TREMENDOUS EFFORTS OF THE U.S. TO HELP THE INNOCENT VIETNAMESE CHILDREN, I OBSERVED THAT SUCH DISTORTIONS ARE LITTLE SHORT OF OBSCENE.

6. I EXPRESSED OUR APPRECIATION AT THE EFFORTS OF THE GOS, IN CONFORMITY WITH TRADITIONAL SWEDISH GENEROSITY, TO HELP THE REFUGEES. HOWEVER, WE WOULD HOPE THAT AS MUCH AID AS POSSIBLE WOULD GO THROUGH MULILATERAL CHANNELS. ANDERSSON INTERJECTED THAT LAST WEEK THE GOS HAD ALLOCATED 23 MILLION KRONOR TO VIETNAM, OF WHICH HALF WOULD GO TO HANOI AND PRG AND THE OTHER HALF TO ALL PARTIES IN THE SOUTH THROUGH THE U.N. AND RED CROSS. (STOCKHOLM 1607). I REPLIED THAT I WAS AWARE OF THIS, BUT EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT GOS WOULD CONTRIBUTE MORE THROUGH THE MULTILATERAL ORGANIZATION.

7. I THEN TURNED TO THE QUESTION OF THE PRG, AND SAID I HAD NOTED WITH SATISFACTION THE STATEMENT OF A GOS SPOKESMAN LAST WEEK THAT THE GOS IS NOT REPEAT NOT CONSIDERING RECOGNITION OF THE PRG OR OF THE GRUNK IN CAMBODIA. ANDERSSON CONFIRMED THAT THIS IS THE CASE, BUT MADE NO FURTHER COMMENT.

8. FOLLOWING OUR DISCUSSION OF PORTUGAL, I AGAIN RETURNED TO THE VIETNAM QUESTION AND SAID I WOULD BE

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FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 STOCKHOLM 1627

PLEASED TO TRANSMIT TO MY GOVERNMENT ANY VIEWS THE GOS HAS ON THIS SUBJECT. ANDERSSON PAUSED FOR A MOMENT, AND THEN, CAREFULLY CHOOSING HIS WORDS, SAID THAT, AS THE GOS OFFICIALS READ THEIR OWN OFFICIAL REPORTS ON THE VIETNAM SITUATION AS WELL AS THOSE CARRIED IN THE PRESS, THEY ASKED THEMSELVES IF THERE WERE SOME WAY A POLITICAL SOLUTION" TO THE VIETNAM CONFLICT COULD BE ACHIEVED. IN CONTACTS WITH SWEDISH DIPLOMATS, THE PRG HAS STRESSED THAT IT WANTS TO STOP THE MILITARY CONFLICT, OBSERVE THE PARIS AGREEMENTS, AND GET THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR RECONCILIATION FUNCTIONING. THEIR ONLY CONDITION, HE ASSERTED, IS THE REMOVAL OF PRESIDENT THIEU. ACCORDING TO ANDERSSON, MADAME BINH TALKED ALONG THESE LINES RECENTLY IN PARIS, AND THE GOS BELIEVES SHE WOULD NOT HAVE GONE SO FAR UNLESS THERE AS A SERIOUS PURPOSE

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BEHIND IT

9. ANDERSSON SAID INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO THE GOS INDICATES HANOI DOES NOT AGREE WITH THIS PRG VIEW, AND IS OBVIOUSLY SEEKING A MILITARY VICTORY. STRESSING THAT HE WAS SPEAKING PERSONALLY, ANDERSSON SAID HE WONDERED IF IN FACT THE PRG REALLY WOULDN'T PREFER A POLITICAL SOLUTION RATHER THAN A MILITARY ONE. HE SAID THE GOS HAD NOTED THAT HANOI NEVER RECOGNIZED PRG AS REPRESENTING ANY PART OF VIETNAM. ANDERSSON ADDED THAT HANOI'S GOAL OF UNITING THE ENTIRE COUNTRY UNDER ITS CONTROL THROUGH A MILITARY VICTORY IS AT ODDS WITH THE PRG'S AIM OF HAVING 3 PARTIES IN THE SOUTH AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR RECONCILIATION. ANDERSSON CONCLUDED HIS REMARKS BY EMPHASIZING THAT HIS WAS A PERSONAL OPINION.

10. AS I STARTED TO LEAVE, THE CHIEF OF MFA POLITICAL AFFAIRS, LEIFLAND, WHO WAS ALSO PRESENT, ASKED IF MY COMMENTS ABOUT PRESS DISTORTIONS INDICATED THAT I EXPECTED THE GOS TO DO SOMETHING TO CURB SOME EXCESSES

IN THE SWEDISH PRESS. I SAID I HAD NOT MEANT TO CONVEY THAT MEANING, BUT RATHER TO EXPRESS MY VIEWS -- AND MY INDIGNATION -- AT THE IRRESPONSIBLE AND DISTORTED COVERAGE OF THE VIETNAM QUESTION IN THE PRESS. ANDERSSON THEN INTERJECTED THAT HE HOPED THE USG HAD NOTED THAT THE GOS HAD MADE NO REPEAT NO COMMENT WHATSOEVER ON THE CURRENT VIETNAM SITUATION, AND I REPLIED THAT WE HAD INDEED NOTED THIS ABSENCE OF COMMENT.

11. COMMENT: WHILE ANDERSSON'S COMMENTS ABOUT DIFFERENCES ON SOUTH VIETNAM BETWEEN THE PRG AND THE HANOI GOVERNMENT MAY SEEM AT FIRST TO BE A TIME-WORN COMMUNIST PLOY, I BELIEVE THAT THEY SHOULD NOT BE DISMISSED LIGHTLY. THE DEPARTMENT WILL RECALL THAT LAST NOVEMBER ANDERSSON HAD RAISED WITH ME THE CONCERN OF THE GOS ABOUT THE "MASSIVE DEPLOYMENT" OF NORTH VIETNAMESE FORCES AGAINST THE SOUTH. HE ALSO REPORTED AT THAT TIME THAT THE GOS "UNDERSTOOD" THAT HANOI WOULD BE RECEPTIVE TO A PROPOSAL BY THE SAIGON GOVERNMENT TO START UP THE MACHINERY ESTABLISHED UNDER THE PARIS TREATY.

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ANDERSSON HAD URGED ME TO CONVEY THIS INFORMATION TO THE USG PROMPTLY, (STOCKHOLM 4921, NOTAL). SINCE IN RETROSPECT, HE APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN CORRECT IN WARNING US ABOUT THE MASSIVE DEPLOYMENT OF HANOI'S TROOPS AGAINST THE SOUTH, I BELIEVE HIS COMMENTS ABOUT THE WILLINGNESS OF THE PRG TO REACH A POLITICAL ACCOMMODATION WITH A SAIGON GOVERNMENT (WITHOUT PRESIDENT THIEU) REPORT ACCURATELY THE POSITION OF THE PRG AS STATED TO THE GOS.

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